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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

In this book are collected the speeches of Sjt. J. C. Kumarappa dealing with certain aspects of Rural Re-construction. The Foreword is from the pen of Sjt. Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian National Congress (48th session). Rural Re-construction is nowadays attracting all the political forces in the country. Government seem to compete with Gandhijee, the originator of the All India Village Industries Association in the matter of village uplift, and all the political parties in the country are thinking in terms of Rural Re-construction. Ere long, it will become the common plank in the programme of the various political parties. Time and tide have wrought a change in the counsels of the Government and that is why, perhaps, the Government are to-day entering the lists with the Congress for Rural Re construction. Whatever be the motives of men and parties, the angle of vision of the political minded Indians of all complexions has undergone a welcome change which, in the immediate future programmes for village uplift, will be placed before the country for acceptance. This book would give in a nutshell the main ideas about Rural Re-construction

and with that as the basis leaders may think out their programmes for improving the villages in the way of providing them with better food, better clothing, better housing, better air and water, better education and better communications...so that the vast masses residing in the Rural Areas may have at least "creature comforts" well provided. The publishers would offer their grateful thanks to all those that helped them to bring out this collection of the speeches and writings of Sjt. J. C. Kumarappa on the subject.

My sole object in compiling this book has been to present matters connected with Rural uplift work which might serve as an infallible guide to my countrymen.

Kovvur, West Godavari Dt., (South India) 28th Dec. 1935.	}	SANIVARAPU SUBBARAO,
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Note;— I tender my apology to the readers for the presence of many mistakes found throughout the book. The Errata given is not complete, In the next edition I will see that all mistakes are corrected.

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ERRATA

Page.	Line.	For,	Read as.
7	14	townsfold	townsfolk
12	10	faintly	fairly
19	9	tremendous	tremendous havoc
20	22	would	should
25	22	was	was that
27	21	separates	separates milk fro... butter. In like manner centralised production separates
31	23	be rendered	prove
31	23	even for	except as
31	24	Here	in that
32	9	generally	gallery
34	7	Martar	Matar
36	23	Carnering	Cornering
41	12	better make them	make them better
46	10	every	very
48	11	grows	knows
49	11	purchaser	purchase
50	10	worked	world
57	24	For this	or that
59	25	without	with

Page.	Line.	For.	Read as.
60	1	Discentralised	Centralised
60	17	is	is as
62	18	now gather	sow
63	25	supplanted	translated
68	15	under employment	unemployment.
76	4	be spoken	bespoken
80	7	consupcion	consumption

FOREWORD

India is passing through a period of transition. Our thoughts and ideas are in the melting pot. New values are in the process of being evolved. Old things and notions are changing fast. There is a clear conflict in ideals visible among our people. Mahatma Gandhi has worked a revolution in our social and political outlook. He has a philosophy of life which is different in many respects from current notions and all his activities and programmes are traceable to certain fundamentals to which he holds fast. The cult of the spinning wheel and the revival of village industries are also based on the same fundamentals. This little book is a collection of some of the speeches and writings of Sjt. J. C. Kumarappa relating to the aims, objects and methods of work of the All India Village Indus-

tries Association, of which he is the industrious Organiser and Secretary. The author has dealt with the subject in a popular and yet comprehensive manner and may safely be taken as expressing in his own way the thoughts of Gandhiji. He is particularly fitted to deal with the subject not only by reason of the official position he holds, but also by reason of the careful and critical study he brings to bear on any subject he takes up and his close association with Gandhiji in this work. I have no doubt the reader will get much food for thought in these pages.

Wardha, }
the 23rd Dec. '35. } RAJENDRA PRASAD.

*An Address delivered on the occasion of the
Opening of the classes for Training Rural
Reconstruction Workers in the Ramadas
Co-operative Training Institute
Ltd. Rajahmundry — 1931.*

Friends,

One of the most hopeful signs in India to-day is that people are thinking in terms of villages. Since we came into contact with the West we had almost forgotten that India is a land of villages. Nearly ninety percent of the population is rural, and over seventy three percent are raw materials producers. One of the great differences between the Western civilization and ours is that our civilization takes its root from rural life while in the West the mode of living is fashioned by royal courts situated in large cities. The life of the court trickles down from the kings to the feudal lords and from the feudal lords to the squire and from the squire to the yeomen. Even in the republican days of ancient Greece it was the city that called the tune. Therefore, to this day, Western civilization is an urban civilization. In India the centre of life has always been the village. Though we have had monarchs

who have lived in splendour in cities, yet the villages have never yielded up their independence. The monarch has always been only the defender and patron of arts and culture. The village ideal and simplicity of life commanded the respect of all, and farming was held sacred. Towns and cities were there only as distributing agents of village products. Urban arrogance was as yet unknown. With the contact of the West, those of us who call ourselves educated gave up our line of evolution and attempted to super impose Western urban civilization on the rural foundation of India; and the result is the mess we are in. The purpose of opening rural reconstruction classes appears to me to be a clear indication of the recognition that we had taken the wrong turning and of the desire to build afresh on the old plan.

In attempting to rebuild, it is incumbent on us to study the plans laid down by the original builders. Unless we follow closely their specifications our efforts will be in vain. I do not mean here that we should follow slavishly everything that has been done in the past, right or wrong. While we accept their foundation, the architecture should be ours. Study of our past history and institutions reveals the fact that they aimed at:—

1. Assuring to every individual the minimum of subsistence. This is shown by the method of payment in kind to the artisans.
2. Avoiding competition. This idea runs through all our social organization, such as the caste system, the joint family system etc.
3. Promoting co-operation. This is revealed by the organization of the village unit.
4. Levelling down inequalities in wealth. The Joint family system has been a great contributor to this idea.
5. Strengthening the solidarity of social life. This is indicated by the caste system, though at present, we see only the degenerated part of it.
6. Placing society on an idealistic and intellectual basis, and not on an economic basis. This is brought out by the fact that the first place in society was given to the intellectuals rather than to the king. However rich the king might have been he paid his homage to the itinerant and penniless sage at his court.
7. Glorifying the idea of service, rather than the tyranny associated with acquisition of

property. We notice this in the reverence attached to renunciation, rather than to possession.

In striking contrast to these ideals, which formed the foundation of our civilization, Western society is founded on the Court life as mentioned already, with the result that it glorifies the multiplicity of possessions, rather than simplicity of life. However ignorant the person may be, as long as he has wealth—it makes little difference how he came by it—he can command respect and if he has not got the claim by reason of birth to the first rank, he can obtain it by being ennobled by the king. The whole Western economic organization pivots on competition, which has encouraged individualism to the extent of even weakening family ties. While our social life is maintained by force of public opinion and sanction, the West has to depend on the force of civil and criminal law to maintain order and regulate the individual life of the citizen. Unfortunately the glamour of power which is a concomitant of Society as organised in the West has caught our imagination and we have forsaken the foundation laid on the rock, to build on sand. The Brahmin has abandoned the privilege of learning and

teaching and has taken to the profession of law to exploit the quarrelsomeness of human nature. The Kshatriya is fraternising with the foreigner to hold his own country-men in bondage for pecuniary gains. The Vaisya has entered the international speculative market to the ruin of our farmer. The Sudras have joined Government service in the menial departments or have embraced Christianity to better themselves and have thus become alienated from their country-men by adopting in toto foreign ideals.

We have thus fallen away from our ideals, and if we are to rebuild again, we have to regain the principles that guided our forefathers. Our degeneration is largely due to the deterioration in our national character, and to selfishness in individuals. The Brahmin who was originally intended to be the custodian of the purity of the race and the trustee of national culture, misappropriated these privileges and has contrived by various means to keep himself segregated from his fellow-being. By these means the Brahmins are rapidly degenerating from a position of responsibility and leadership into a community of cooks. It is similar to the case of a medical man who abandons his profession to avoid contagious or infectious germs from the sick people and confines

himself in a germproof cell. Such a person, instead of relieving society of danger, is a parasite himself. Thus before we begin to reform society we should fully appreciate the purposes for which the institutions have been established in the past. Therefore a careful study of our old institutions should be a prerequisite to courses in rural reconstruction. I was particularly glad to notice from your syllabus that a certain amount of emphasis is laid on this aspect of the training proposed to be given in this institution. I notice also that a comparative study is intended of institutions and organizations in countries like Germany, Denmark, Italy etc. It must be remembered that however commendable a particular organization may be in a given country such an organization cannot be satisfactorily transplanted to another country unless the environment and the human element are identical in the two countries. What is good enough for America cannot be the ideal for Russia; what is good enough for Italy will not pass muster in England, and much less suit our purposes.

I shall not take up your time by going into a detail examination of misfits which have been brought over bodily into this country. But I shall content myself to drawing your attention to one or two

matters which bring out this neglect of rural interest in the finances of the Government. While large amounts are drawn from the villages by way of taxation little is returned to them by way of benefits. Money that is drawn from the villages is mostly spent on towns and cities, while there are not even mud tracks in villages, asphalted and tarred roads are provided for in towns and their vicinity. While our 'untouchable' brethren have to draw water from cesspools and ditches dug in the dry beds of tanks, chlorinated water is provided for in pipes in towns and cities. While in most of the villages primary education is not even heard of, Universities, colleges and high schools are provided for the townsfolk. According to our ancient organization of villages each village was self-contained. The people of the villages co-operated in providing for the needs of the village. The elders of the village sat in council and settled disputes. These local activities helped to develop their character by placing responsibility on their shoulders. At present, we appear to have lost a large proportion of the initiative displayed by our village people in the past.

For decades, our villages have been disintegrated as regards their administration. There is a great

deal said in favour of, as well as against, village Panchayats. These institutions helped to keep public affairs in the forefront. Since they lost in power the administration of Justice has become very expensive and slow, and the villages have lost prestige. At one time each village was a republic presided over by its Panchayat. I notice from the syllabus, as well as from the report of the work done in the past, that you are concentrating considerable effort in resuscitating village Panchayats. In this connection, it will be interesting to quote the rules suggested by Gandhiji for the guidance of village workers,

1. Panchayat should, in the first instance, be elected by a public meeting, called for the purpose beat to drum.
2. It should be recommended by the Tahsil committee.
3. Such Panchayat should have no criminal jurisdiction.
4. It may try civil suits, if the parties to them refer their disputes to the Panchayat.
5. No one should be compelled to refer any matter to the Panchayat.

6. No Panchayat should have any authority to impose fines; the sanction behind its civil decrees being its moral authority, strict impartiality and willing obedience of the parties concerned.
7. There should be no social or other boycott for the time being.
8. Every Panchayat will be expected to attend to:-
 - (a) The education of boys and girls in its village,
 - (b) Its sanitation.
 - (c) Its medical needs.
 - (d) The upkeep and cleanliness of village wells and tanks.
 - (e) The uplift of and the daily wants of the so called untouchables.
9. A Panchayat that fails, without just cause, to attend to the requirements mentioned in clause 8 within six months of its election, or fails otherwise to retain the good-will of the villagers or stands self-condemned for any other cause may be disbanded and another elected in its place.

Gandhiji goes on to remark "The disability to impose fine or social boycott is a necessity of the case in the initial stages. Social boycott in villages has been found to be a dangerous weapon in the hands of ignorant and unscrupulous men. Imposition of fines too may lead to mischief and defeat the very end in view. Where a Panchayat is really popular and increases its popularity by the constructive work of the kinds suggested in clause 8, it will find its judgment and authority respected by reason of its moral prestige, and that surely is the greatest sanction any one can possess, and of which one cannot be deprived."

The central government of those days merely concerned itself with defence and internal order. Other functions of Government were carried out by officers who had an intimate knowledge of the local needs. In this again we defer widely from *democracy* of the West. Democratic rule often signifies a rule of the majority and, in effect, the rule of the few who control the finances and public opinion. It is a mild form of tyranny which opiates the public into believing that it governs itself, while in reality, it is being governed by the interested few.

When we speak of Swaraj, this kind of democracy is farthest from our view. We do not want any form of tyranny of one class over another, of capital over working classes or a fascism of the middle classes or Bolshevism of the proletariat. An ideal system of Government should have a place in it for all sorts and conditions of people. This was in a measure achieved under the system which regulated our society until the greed of power of a few influential classes introduced the idea of status into the caste system which has brought to a head impurities inherent in such a society in the nauseating problem of untouchability. As the unit of Indian society has always been a village, any reconstruction that aims at political, social and economic solidarity of the country, has to have as its central purpose the rebuilding of this unit, and training workers with this end in view, is a true preparation for Swaraj. If each village is educated into looking after its own affairs, no power on earth can hold it in slavery, but as long as we are unable to manage our own affairs we leave the door open for any one to step in with high pretences of trusteeship and service to the country, and walk away with the taxes as the consideration for "services" rendered.

In these parts considerable amount of public work, such as building, village communication, drainages, improving tanks, and organizing Panchayats appears to have been done from reports I have received. I have been anxious to visit these places before to-day, but unfortunately my other engagements have prevented me from doing so; but I am still hoping that it will be possible for me to see these activities for myself, in the next few days. I am glad to notice that the Government has given ~~fairly~~ liberally towards the cost of these activities. I should have been happier still if the Government had not given any grant whatever, and yet the people had carried it all out by co-operation amongst themselves. Because, the Government, as it is constituted to-day, is an irresponsible Government, whatever it gives, it gives with a patronizing air and hopes by its paltry contribution, to hold the receiver under an obligation and thus control his activities, and restrict his freedom. In this way, many of our schools, colleges and other public institutions have had a nose-string put on to them under the guise of a grant. I trust that the grant you have received will not curb your independence. Otherwise, the grants would be public bribes to buy out your birth-right. Many a Christian mission has had its mouth

shut because of having taken these bribes. We hope the day is not far off when the people may take government grants and yet, retain their self-respect. As long as, there is no popular control over the finances of the government, any grant from an irresponsible executive government savours of charity and favours conferred. It is very necessary to develop in our village folks the feeling that the government is their servant and the money that the government has, belongs to the people. And they should be taught to take a keen interest in the way in which their own money is being spent. The people of each village should see to it that they get a full return for the money they have paid by way of taxes. If a village pays twenty-thousand rupees by way of land-revenue, incometax etc., it should receive by way of services such as, schools, sanitation, medical aid, water supply, postal service etc., at least about two-thirds of that amount, that is, about fourteen thousand rupees. At present, hardly a tenth is spent on the village itself. It will be the duty of the workers who go forth trained from this institution to install a sense of responsibility in the village people. To pay taxes when you receive no return for it, is like giving over your property to a robber without a protest, it is cowardice and lack of manliness. I see

in your syllabus a little information on public finance is included. I should like to see a little more emphasis given to this subject. A knowledge of Public Finance is a necessary equipment for every citizen, and much more so to village reconstruction workers.

It is said, variety is the spice of life. This is true even in the organization of the economic life of a nation. Until the eighteenth century, India had a fairly sound co-ordination between the arts, crafts, agriculture, and industries. India's wealth, which attracted the cupidity of other nations, was largely due to this co-ordination, which has now been upset by the advent of machinery and the lack of will in the Government to aid in the adjustment consequent on the advent of mechanical power. The result has been that a larger percentage of the population has had to be accommodated by agriculture. With the extension of cultivation, the yield per acre, as well as per head, has gone down. If nothing else had happened, this in itself, would have been sufficient reason to account for poverty in our country. With the disappearance of arts and crafts the earning per head would have also necessarily gone down as it is a shifting from a skilled industry to unskilled labour.

In addition to this, machine made goods of the West, especially cotton-textiles, aided by the protective tariff of Great Britain, found their way into the villages and displaced cottage industries which occupied the spare time of our farmers, leading to from thirty to fifty percent underemployment. Our farmers more used to barter economy than to money economy, little realized the damage that was being done to them. They enjoyed, what appeared to be, leisure, but what turned out to be underemployment at the cost of their capital by giving up their cottage industries, and obtaining their clothing, from foreign mills. A Government which had an eye for the welfare of the people, could have introduced or encouraged other cottage industries to take the place of ones supplanted by machinery. This had not been done, hence it is, we have to go back to the place where we bifurcated on to the wrong path and start all over again. I do not see from your syllabus that any provision has been made to equip your rural workers with a knowledge of some cottage industries. It may be that the syllabus I have seen is not a comprehensive one, for I hardly think that such an important subject would have been over-looked. Even our national flag is a constant reminder of the need for cottage industries, if we are to have Swaraj. If,

by any chance, this subject has been overlooked, I trust, no time will be lost in rectifying the mistake.

As regards, the agricultural conditions in this part of India, I am hardly qualified to offer any suggestions apart from remarking that as a general rule the tendency of our farmer has been to shift towards money crops, to the detriment of food crops. He has been tempted by the chances afforded by the international market, little realizing the speculative character of such market. Of recent years, this change over to the money crops has also harmed him through the exchange policy of the Government. I have already referred in an earlier part to the decrease in yield per acre. The lack of sufficient manure is also a contributory cause. The farmer should be taught to make the best use of the farm yard manure by the simple process of careful preservation. We are losing a considerable amount of fertilizers by the export of oilseeds and animal bones not to mention the prejudice against nightsoil.

No training of a Rural worker is complete without a course in rural Economics. The literature on this subject available at present, is both meagre and one sided. Most of the publications have been

either by Government servants or undertaken by students under the supervision of professors in government colleges. Every worker in rural area should know how to make an economic survey of his field. No such practical training appears to be contemplated at present. Rural work does not merely consist of road building, sanitation, medical aid, and providing libraries. The economic life of a village is vitally connected with the welfare of the people, and every worker who wishes to know the economic conditions of his area should be able to diagnose for himself the cause of difficulties which stand in the way of economic progress of the village. A survey of one or two villages undertaken under the supervision of a teacher during the period under training, would be useful both to the student in giving him confidence in his work and to the public by supplying it with first-hand information.

One of our great weakness is the lack of a sense of communal cleanliness. As regards personal cleanliness, we could stand comparison with any nation. But when it comes to a question of sanitation, we pay very little regard to the rights of our neighbours. Sanitation is a problem in which sustained intensive propaganda has to be carried on, if we are

to make our villages fit habitation for human-beings. Few months ago, considerable amount of criticism appeared in the papers, because the third class section of the Bombay Central Station was built far away from the platform, while the first and second class passengers had easy access to the trains. Any one who has had any intimate knowledge of the ways of the third class passengers cannot reasonably be expected to support such criticism. Until we train our people into observing the elementary principles of health and hygiene, it is most unreasonable to expect persons who have been brought up to observe public decency and understand something of bacteriology to feel comfortable with persons who will spit bettle—leaf juice all round and clear their throats and noses wherever they happen to be. These habits are only due to ignorance and lack of consideration for others. It may be difficult to reform the present grown up generation, but if the younger generation is taken in hand, we shall not be long in seeing the benefits of the trouble taken. I am glad to notice that this institution is alive to the need of latrines in villages. If the farmers could be educated into using night soil as manure, considerable fertility could be added to the soil with even the present resources. Prejudices die-hard; but, with continued

efforts these difficulties could be overcome. Lack of attention to elementary rules of hygiene is one of the chief reasons for the high mortality in a country like ours, blessed with plenty of fresh air and purifying sunlight.

It is a happy idea to give the students some knowledge of first aid and few medicines to deal with common ailments. Even simple avoidable disease like malaria has caused a tremendous ~~have~~ in human power. If even these simple diseases could be tackled by your workers, it will be a great service to the people of the villages.

It is very essential that village industries should receive the first support by the people of the village, and what cannot be made in the village should be brought in from other parts of India. This spirit of Swadeshi should be inculcated in every man, woman and child. While there is so much poverty and starvation in the country we cannot take the bread of our brethren and give it to foreigner who is much better off.

Although I have mentioned in passing that all our classes and castes should be treated as equal, yet, the case for the untouchables is so strong that

it needs special mention. As long as we hold a section of our brethern to be not worthy of contact, we do not deserve to be treated differently by other nations. Our present political bondage is a righteous visitation of Gods judgment on a people who have used their privileges to enslave their brethren. Until this blot is removed from amongst us in vain shall we cry for Swaraj. For with the same measure that we mete withal it shall be measured to us again. In some places the treatment of the untouchables is worse even than the treatment given to animals' I have seen beautiful troughs built for cattle in villages and several wells for the caste people, while, the untouchables had to get their water from ditches dug in the ground and into which water from the cattle well was allowed to run. What will be the state of the country given over into the hands of people who could so tyrannise over their own brethern! We are supposed to be a religiously minded nation. If you do not see God in the needs of our brethern our religiosity is pure humbug. A Brahmin who hesitate to touch an untouchable, ~~sh~~ould be an out-cast of society and it is a blasphemy to call him a priest. True Brahmin is he who lays down his life in service of God as revealed in the needs of the helpless and the down-trodden. In this sense, I

sincerely trust that every one of your trained workers will be a Brahmin. At this stage of our country's history our greatest need is for workers, who will spread themselves out into the villages, and awaken our people from the stupor into which they have fallen. In laying down a programme for village volunteers, Gandhiji suggests the following as the duty of a volunteer.

1. He may gather the village children and teach them *Takli* and carding and give them a knowledge of the alphabets. For this purpose a small scheme may latter be evolved.
2. He may supervise the sanitation of the village or do the work himself.
3. He may try to remove disunion in the villages if there be any.
4. He may distribute medicines to the sick. He may relieve the distress of the untouchables and make facilities for drinking water etc., if there be any want of it.
5. He may make the village self-supporting regarding Khadi.

6. He may take the census of villages in his beat and make a note of the number of cattle under different heads, take the census of the untouchables, describing at the same time their conditions. Also make a note in his book of the details regarding the area of the village, its crops revenue, its industry etc.

If the training that is to be given in this institution, succeeds in fitting our young men to serve the country in the various ways adumbrated here, it would be fulfilling a function that is calculated to usher in Swaraj at an early date.

*Abstract of a speech delivered by Sjt: J. C.
Kumarappa at Rajahmundry on the
occasion of opening the Industrial
Exhibition on 12-4-35. (Evening)*

Exhibitions have their own value. They have an educative value to the lay man and has a suggestive value to the producer. In the Village Industries Association Head Quarters we want to establish a museum. The ordinary idea of museum as a graveyard of a past civilisation is totally wrong. But a museum is said to be a permanent exhibition or an exhibition a temporary musuem. At this time we are at the beginning of things. Now we have a few fine exhibits and in time we hope to have many. An exhibition is also a clearing house of knowledge. I would ask every one to go round and try to improve on what has hitherto been done and before I declare the Exhibition open, I should like to deal with a point raised in the presidents speech. Although I do not understand Telugu, I gather from what our president has been telling you that as the Prince of Wales is advocating the Buy British goods movement, so we too should support the "*By Indian League.*" I am afraid I do not agree with this narrow nationalism. We should rise above it. The underlying

conception of the Village Industries Association is not that kind of patriotism. Gandhiji's teaching is that of Universal Brotherhood. Although we named our association as the All India Village Industries Association the universal brotherhood is the motive behind it. Charity begins at home. Therefore, we start with an All India Village Industries Association and in time I hope we shall have an all World Association. I want to explain to you that this idea is not merely "A back to the simple village" movement.

At the present time that which holds our attention in the world is the capitalistic and communistic organisation. In juxtaposition to these I would place the All India Village Industries Association. Capitalism, after the Industrial Revolution, has developed itself into three set forms. One of it is the financial type found in the British Isles. The outcome of it is this; the financier who sits in London exploits the millions in India, China and elsewhere. The instrument by which he draws out blood is finance. After the battle of Plassy the Indian Gold left for England and that helped the financial type to take root in Europe.

The other capitalism is that of the machine. It is found in America. Owing to political, religious

and economic oppression in the Middle Ages in Western Europe people left their countries and found shelter in America. But they carried with them the idea of feudalism which had been ingrained in their blood. Then new environments were encountered. They first of all crossed the unchartered seas, and surveyed all unexplored lands. These experiences gave them a practical turn of mind and with that mind they began to tackle their problems and set about the conquest of Nature, where employment was infinite and labourers were few, and to-day we find them full of all kinds of labour saving devices. We find a new age where production is taking place on a large scale and markets are glutted regardless of demand. Materials of vital importance are lacking while luxury goods are being produced. With the financial heritage of England and feudal background these two types of capitalism were moulded.

The third is an offshoot of the above two types of capitalisms. It may be termed a rationalised capitalism. This we find in Russia to-day. What happened there was the labourers who were crushed under the exacting despotism of the aristocrats revolted and have evolved from that a system that has removed some of the evils of capitalism. They

wished to socialise the motivating force. They have succeeded in guiding production by social ideals and not by profit but to this they have added and retained the system of centralised production. What they have added on to it is a subject mentality which may be passed off under the euphamistic designation of discipline as it is called to-day in Germany.

Still the evils are there in the three methods. The production is in the hands of the few. We have to liberate the producer. In centralised production the labourer has no independance and no soul. The producer is allowed to do according to his whims. To-day in America, with ready made walls and windows a house can be built overnight. Those walls and windows were built before you thought of building a house. Many of you have built houses, planned houses and troubled yourselves over the contractors, plans etc. Yet will you rather have a ready made house as in America in preference to even a mud hut that you may build for yourself. What we want is to have the joy of creation. Both capitalism and communism have standardised activity and reduced life to a rut. The production is very great and markets have to be found and armies have to be marched to guard them. War and preparations for war occupy the minds of such nations. No

amount of conference is not going to help as has been apparently expected by the armament conference; no amount of pious resolutions will help in the least. Where the carcass is, there will the vultures be also. Where there is capitalism, there will be the motive for war. Communistic people have removed profits. But they know the hungry wolves of capitalism are watching to see whom they may devour next and therefore they have huge armies for defence and as a sanction to enforce their plan. The Soviet Russia has had to resort to violence.

Apart from this there is another cause for war. War is itself the cause for war. The armament production is a profitable business. Turkey declares war on Egypt and England supplies armaments. This is good business.

As long as there are such communistic and capitalistic organisations war cannot be removed, because of greed and suspicion. If we wish to have world peace, we have to decentralise production. Several of you have seen centrifugal machinery that separates the ~~profit from the producer~~ milk from butter.

In the Village Industries Association we aim at decentralising production thus to leave the fruits of

labour to the producer. The profit motive is curbed and the producer takes a personal interest in the product and finds his joy in his creation. There is no use for violence. Hence you will see that the Village Industries Organisation sets out to solve the problems that are raised by capitalism, communism and war. It is a bold challenge thrown out by Gandhiji to the voracious world to bring it back to brotherhood, peace and prosperity. It is the culmination of Gandhiji's message to the economic world.

*Address given by Sjt. J. C. Kumarappa in the
Andhra Rural Workers' Conference held
on 18th April 1935. (After-noon.)*

The purpose of our coming together is not to hear from me merely how you should work. As I am not acquainted with your surroundings it will not be possible for me to give any advice. When Messers S. Subbarao and N. Satyanarayana wrote to me I readily accepted their invitation with the main purpose of getting to know the conditions of your country. So you will have to teach me in return.

It is one of the main functions of the All India Village Industries Association to co-ordinate the knowledge obtained from all parts of the country. Till now each province has been working in watertight compartments.

The Gujarat workers hearing that sugar is being prepared from palmyra trees in Andhra and Bengal wanted to know the process. The Ranipuraj people were toddy drinkers and one of our workers went to know how to convert this poison into food. Immediately two boys were sent to Bengal for studying the process. When they go back they will prepare from toddy wholesome gur or sugar. So our function

is to know the various conditions that prevail in different parts of the country, gather the available knowledge and disseminate it.

The object of the Village Industries Association is not to produce on our own. We are not going to invest in machinery, etc., to establish production centres. What we aim at doing is to help people to solve their own problems. I have had several enquiries as to how to dispose of carcasses of dead animals in villages. In many places, they simply throw them away and the Harijans cut them up for eating. While dragging the carcass the skin is damaged, vultures foul the air, and the bones are being wasted. This state of affairs presented a problem which had to be faced immediately.

One of our national workers is carrying on researches. He has taken a contract from a Municipality to take all the carcasses. This research is being carried on to help the Harijan boys. When the carcass comes the Harijans flay it, the skin is salted and removed to a tannery. The entrails are emptied and cleaned and the flesh and bones are boiled in water 7 or 8 hours. This separates the fatty matter. The fat thus separated can be used for lubricating and industrial purposes and any amount of fat is

being purchased in the market. Well boiled bones and flesh is dried in the sun and pounded into powder. When the fat is removed completely there is no smell. The flesh is like brown powder and the bones become white powder. Up to now this powder as manure has been imported by the Tea planters of Darjeeling. This is now in the experimental stage and the manures are sent for chemical analysis and they will be graded. While cutting up the carcasses the Harijans are given lessons in anatomy. The plan is to make the disposal of the carcasses as clean as a surgical operation.

This is the way in which we are trying to tackle the problems. As regards production wherever there is a blacksmith's anvil or the potter's wheel or the carpenter's bench there will be our workshop. Our idea is to produce what the village requires. Whatever individuality is there has to be expressed by the villagers. We do not want to reduce big machines to small ones. You have had demonstrated to you how a magic lantern and a gramophone could be made in a village. The gramophone we saw may ~~a-rendered~~ useless ~~even for~~ fuel. But even then it is more useful than a B.A. degree. ~~Here~~ the maker has been thinking hard to solve a problem. He has

produced something and if he works steadily at it he may improve it greatly. If every villager could be made to think and he worked up into a beehive of activity then we can drive out poverty. In your younger days you have played with transfer pictures. What we are doing in our life is just like the transfers, from western productions. The difference between the transfers and what is produced in the Rama Rao's art ^{gallery} ~~generally~~ should be brought about in the economic world. You will have to solve your problems and work to the betterment of the villages. If you merely imitate the west we shall be failures. India has been famous for its own designs and ideas and arts and they should not copy but develop those ideas and designs. That does not mean I discourage imitation. But we may begin with it. If you go into any shop to-day many innumerable suggestions can be had — by even reproducing — for things that can be done here, which are now being imported. We should dispel the stupor of idleness in the village and awaken them into activity and if we achieve this, then our activity can be said to be of success. We are becoming less productive but we are increasing our consumption. A consumer who is not also a producer is an economic monstrosity. There is a saying 'The worker is worthy of his meat.

It conveys the idea that the worker is a producer as well as a consumer. If we do not function in this two fold way we shall be gliding down in the economic world.

The main idea is not to exploit the masses by centralised production. If we have to use machinery we have to see that they are not used for exploitation. If a machinery is meant for the cottage, the price and other things should be within the reach of the cottager. A small instrument of Rs. 50 to 60 that can be accommodated in a cottage can be used. I have given you my idea of what Village Industries Association should contribute from our side. I have told you the purpose with which we are working and our goal e.g. the awakening of the villages. Our purpose is to utilise the economic waste of the village. Whatever we do in converting an idle moment into one of activity, we are adding to the National Wealth. The association will be dependent on the men on the spot like you and I would like you to explain to me what difficulties are actually being met with. In all progress venture is of the essence.

*Abstract of a Speech delivered by Sjt. J. C.
Kumarappa at Rajahmundry in a public
meeting on 13-4-35. (Evening.)*

Dr. P. Gurumurthy read the address of the Andhra Rural Workers stating that Sjt J. C. Kumarappa after receiving a first class education abroad for several years and leaving a promising practice at Bombay in obedience to the call of Gandhiji and our mother land worked in the Gujarat Vidyapeth. He carried out an economic survey of Maftor Taluk. Dr. Gurumurthy recalled his services rendered on the Select Committee appointed by the Karachi Congress to enquire into the financial obligations between Great Britain and India and told the audience of the part he had played during the Civil Disobedience Movement and ended up by praying to the Almighty for the fruition of his noble efforts for the revival of the dying industries of our villages as the Secretary of the All India Village Industries Association.

Mr. Kumarappa in his reply to the address given by the Andhra Rural Workers analysed the form of economic organisation that had been evolved by Indian genius in the Past and came to the conclusion that production took place in a decentralised way

but certain services to the country such as canal construction, road building, tank digging were done collectively. He further contrasted the capitalistic organisation as found to-day in America and Great Briton and its counterpart in Soviet Russia. In all these he traced the enslavement of the worker. The initiative was left with the capitalist even to the extent of directing consumption. The goods were produced on a large scale and they were made to be consumed by high pressure salesmanship. The markets had to be found with the aid of armaments. He said that communism shares with capitalism some of the evils and the way out of them can only be found by process of decentralisation in production. Under capitalism and under Soviet communism the individual was subordinated to what was conceived to be best for the capitalist or the community. The individual became a drudge and real freedom politically or economically was not to be found in western organisations excepting to the chosen few at the top. All production was standardised, this was a waste of humanity, as the talents of each individual has not been fully utilised by society and life was running in groves and routine rules the day. To avoid these evils and to give the economic organisation a chance of being moulded by the National genius and as a

means of obtaining freedom in the fullest sense and incidentally to abolish violence from amongst the nations and ushering an era of Universal brotherhood, Gandhiji has ushered in the present programme for the village industries. By decentralisation of production the power that is wielded by Throgmorten Avenue, and Wall Street or Moscow, is sought to be transferred to the masses; thus bringing about a complete democracy and true freedom to the villagers of India. To this end the Village Industries Association has been organised to serve the villagers, taking upon itself the centralised functions which have to be performed either by co-operation or by state aid or by other collective effort. He explained to them that some public utility services such as distribution of motive power, transport communications such as telephone and telegraph are by their very nature monopolistic and therefore are earmarked for collective action. With the exception of these, production should be decentralised. As it is, even pure art which by its very nature should be left to its own devices is being produced under Wesetrn organisations in a centralised fashion. C^oncerning in what should be the right of the millions into the private purse of Holywood stars, Capitalism has prostituted the fine arts by standardisation, which is its one

contribution to efficiency. It has offered up individuality, initiative and originality on the altar of efficiency and cheapness. He appealed to those present that they will have to co-operate with the Association inculcating the ideals of freedom and brotherhood by promoting decentralisation of production and thus enabling every individual to make him contribute to the sum total of human happiness.

*Interview with Mr. J. C. Kumarappa b,
Mr. Sanivarapu Subba Rao (in the Train.)*

14-4-35

Q-1. What sort of economic freedom that people of Indian need?

A. The economic freedom that we are aiming at is the freedom of the individual to produce according to his genius and talent. It is not merely a freedom of contract as it is in western countries. The labourer of the west sells away his birth right for a mess of pottage. He works from morning till night. Although he may receive in return comparatively high remuneration, it is as nothing, as human element is totally subordinated to the wishes and avarice of the capitalist. Under our conception of economic freedom, men should not be reduced to drudges or mere controllers of machine tools. If a producer is unable to put his personality into his product for what-ever reason it may be, there is no economic freedom. When production is controlled by profit motives or social motives only the ones at the top have power to decide what they should do.

Q. 2. Can you suggest any plan for Village and Town Industries?

A. It is difficult for me to answer { a general question of this nature. The case of each village and town has to be decided on its own merits. Laying out an economic plan rests with our agent for the locality.

Q. 3. What is your opinion about Facism of Italy, Communism of Russia, Nazism of Germany and National Recovery plan of America?

A. As regards the various forms of social organisations that have developed recently in Europe one may safely say they are all adaptations of capitalist organisations according to the class in power, middle class, the proletariat or the intellectuals. They all share in common centralised control and dictation from the top, the duty of the rest of the populus is but to do and die. They have not succeeded in giving people freedom, on the other hand, and in most cases, the result has been one of greater subjection.

Q 4. If the government budget goes on as at present enhancing Taxation every year, what result would you expect?

A. Taxation is tending more and more to be detached from production; no country can progress

with Taxation falling heavily and increasingly on capital as is the case with land revenue. Taxation has to be high because of our army expenditure. I see nothing but bankruptcy before us.

Q. 5. What opinion will you give if the government ask your advice in spending the one crore of rupees for rural uplift?

A. When the time comes when the Government of India stoop low enough to consult the wishes of the public, it will be time enough for members of the public to offer their opinion. As it is, the Government resents though not expressly, expression of opinion even by such a body as the Legislative Assembly.

Q. 6. Will you suggest any scheme for the co-operative movement to help in your All India Village Industries Association?

A. Progress of every Industry requires financial backing and marketing. These are the obvious functions open to the co-operative societies to organise and supervise. They can be of immeasurable help to the All India Village Industries Association. Apart from this there are certain public utility services which can only be rendered collectively such as

transportation, supply of motive power, communications etc.

Q. 7. What is your advice to government and to the people in spending relief funds like famine relief funds etc?

A. I shall not presume to advise to the government or the public but I may say that every one who is in charge of relief funds cannot be overcareful in trying to avoid pauperization of sufferers. There is a great danger of relief taking the form of indiscriminate charity. We should try to leave the people, richer, morally and ~~better~~ ^{better} make them able to take care of themselves economically than we find them.

Q. 8. Will you approve in establishing trade and labour unions?

A. Labour unions are necessary evils as long as the bargaining power of the capitalists is overweighed. It is necessary for the labourers to take concerted action to bring about equilibrium. These unions, will stay with us as long as capitalism functions.

Q. 9. What sort of Education will you suggest in the system of present elementary or higher or college education?

A. Our education whether elementary or higher both tend to detach us from life. The present system is not so moulded as to coordinate the child's school life and home life and social life. Our education should make an individual a better member of society in every way. So long as every individual youth is not developed on right lines the time and energy spent in education will be a total loss.

ELLORE, 15th April 1935.

TYRANNY OF CAPITALISM,

Addressing the audience Sjt. J. C. Kumarappa explained the basic principles underlying the Village Industries Association. In doing so he dwelt at length on the two main economic systems obtaining in the world, Capitalism and Socialism.

Speaking about Capitalism Sjt. Kumarappa stated that Capitalism took its birth in the Industrial Revolution, in Europe which resulted from the invention of the machine. Capitalism absorbed the main principles of the Feudal system then prevalent in Europe. The sole idea at the back of Capitalism was profit, to the complete exclusion of utilitarian and humanitarian motives. The main channel in which capitalism gradually developed i.e. the highly centralised and mass production necessitated wide markets. To obtain and retain which, nations as well as individuals were maintaining vast armaments and fighting with one another. This led to the economic maladjustment and the phenomena of the existence of wide spread starvation side by side with a glut in the market of foodstuffs.

This tyranny of capitalism which stood for the exploitation of the multitude by the few was sought to be destroyed by the Socialists of Russia, who after manifold sufferings succeeded in bringing about a change in their society from capitalism to socialism. This they sought to do by destroying the profit motive of production and by replacing it with the utilitarian motive. Though they succeeded in this they still retained the main feature of capitalistic production i.e. the centralised production of goods. This again placed vast power in the hands of few. They might have succeeded in co-relating the demand and supply by replacing the profit motive with need motive, that is, they began producing the necessities of the people instead of luxuries. But in all this they retained the basic principle of capitalism i.e. centralized production. They have thought it necessary to guard themselves from the capitalistic wolves surrounding them and are arming themselves heavily. The result is both the capitalists and the socialists arm themselves and are ready to adopt violence.

UTILITARIANISM.

The brain of one of the greatest propounders to utilitarianism and perhaps the greatest propounder of

Ahimsa, Mahatma Gandhi set out to solve the problem and the result is the All India Village Industries Association. The great principle advocated by the A. I. V. I. A. is to foster decentralised production. Let the production be distributed throughout the land and it will adjust itself to the demand with no over production and competition. That was why no single plan for entire India was formulated by the Central Board. Every locality had to develop in its own way its needs. No Five Year Plan was set up by the Association. The individual producer was a free man, reaping all the fruits of his labour himself and he had no need to resort to violence to find and retain a market as he adjusted himself to the demand already existing. The A.I.V.I.A. recognised also that certain functions had to be centralised because of their nature, such as research, transport, communications etc., and the Central Board of the A.I.V.I.A. tried to handle those functions.

Sjt. Kumarappa then explained the progress of the A.I.V.I.A. since its inception and appealed to the audience to take up its work and bring prosperity to the country.

INTERNATIONALISM AND AHIMSA.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE A.I.V.I.A.

Sjt. J. C, Kumarappa's Address at Guntur.

16th April 1935.

Sjt. Kumarappa in the course of his address on the objects of Village Industries Association and the philosophy with which the apostle of non-violence has started this scheme said that the real spirit behind it was universal love.

After tracing the evolution of capitalism, he went on to say how decentralisation of production was needed everywhere in order that the economic problems might at once be solved. Production was in the hands of every few people, while the actual consumers were millions. It was the liberation of these millions they were all aiming at. In centralised production the producer had no voice, no independence and no soul. He became a machine. His creative faculty was killed.

In Russia to-day one found that in order to avoid the evils of capitalism and with a view to remove the profit motive they had adopted a kind of control over production the profits of which went

to the state. Here also goods were manufactured according to the tastes of a few individuals that guided them but not what the poor labourer required. They were working on the same lines as any other capitalist but the difference was this, one was a capitalist and the other an idealist. Both were step brothers trying to cut each other's throats.

The nation that produced much had to resort to violence to find market for its surplus production capitalism appeared before them to knock away their purse just like a gangster puts the pistol at the throat and demands the purse.

For guarding against this danger they had to maintain huge armies. Production of armaments was another outlet for capital. They produced arms and made money out of it. One nation was set up against another just to provide market for the production of arms of a third nation,

But to-day the apostle of peace was giving a new philosophy which would overcome all the evils of the existing systems.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE SCHEME.

The philosophy of the scheme of A.I.V.I.A., was that it should do away with the profit motive.

the centralisation of production and the exploitation of the capitalist. But that did not mean we are against power machinery for speed. But we are against exploitation of man by man by the use of machinery. All that the Association wanted was that no capitalist should profit by the exploitation of the poor. In some cases things had to be done by centralisation, for instance, a laboratory for research could not be had all over the country. So also the production of power or electricity. A centralised production and distribution would be more beneficial, than decentralised individual production. These kinds of production must be taken by several Village Industries Associations.

Three kinds of minds were necessary for the production. The business mind, the technical expert who grows the details for producing and a drudge. The first two have become very rare and the third is flourishing in millions. The first two had been bought by the Government under the capitalist system as their clerks, more or less slaves in their departments. Now Gandhiji has started this association to gather all those scattered first two kinds of people and send them back to the villages to use their brains for the welfare of humanity. That is

why Satish Chendra Das Gupta, formerly of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmacuetical Works was asked by Gandhiji to use his brain in preparing Ayurvedic medicines for the villages, carry on researches in methods of Tanning etc.

Finally he appealed to every one of them to join the village industries association and make discriminative purchases. Whenever they bought a thing they must bear in mind and consider whether the village was becoming rich or poor by that purchase.

STANDARDISED PRODUCTION AND ITS EVILS.

MAN: SLAVE TO MACHINE.

*Attempt of A.I.V.I.A. to give him creative faculty.
Vinayasramam of Kalyanakavur. 18th April 1935.*

"The A.I.V.I.A. is the panacea for the world struggle in trying to end which the world has failed over and over again," he said. "The central association is not the working body. The responsibility of working out the problems entirely rests on the local leaders, like Mr. G. Seetarama Sastri and his institutions and on you. This association is not born out of the brain of Mahatma Gandhi or out of the brain of philosopher or social reformer. It is a reaction of many counterforces and ~~worked~~ problems."

CAPITALIST CENTRALISED PRODUCTION.

Continuing he said "The capitalist came on the scene with the advent of the machine. He has existed for the last two centuries. Capitalism is a growth out of Feudalism. The capitalist supplies articles on a large scale, much cheaper and with in a short space of time. Here production is not guided.

by what is profitable to the producer but to the capitalist. The rapidity of production increases the burden of controlling and retaining the market, which gives rise to competition. In centralised production the labourer does, what some others have thought out for him to do. His creative faculty is killed.

PROSTITUTION OF ART.

In olden days every article was produced for every man's taste. If one wanted a thing one went to the workman, gave him a model according to one's own taste and in the use of it one derived the pleasure of one's own creation. Now to-day we find the foreigner who is ignorant of our tastes, producing articles for us and we have forgotten what talent and art our country possessed. Thus our art and culture are slowly deteriorating. To-day tastes are cultivated for the things manufactured by machines, instead of things being manufactured to suit the tastes. This is not propagation of art but the prostitution of it. The same kind of prostitution is being carried on in every walk of life. Education and religion too have been centralised in the west. In America every art is standardised and spoken of in terms of dollars worth."

RUSSIA.

Speaking on the difference between capitalism and socialism he said, "in Russia production by capital is guided by social ideas, but they have retained the system of centralised production. The production in all parts of the country is guided by the whip of Moscow leaders. The guiding forces change with the change of the leader. There is a great danger of Russia becoming capitalistic if in place of Lenin Rockfeller were to come into power."

A. I. V. I. A.

The A.I.V.I.A. took us back to the olden days where every individual used to contribute his mite to society and in return it gave him what he deserved. It aimed at decentralised production. This scheme gave an impetus to every creative brain, and trained and educated the people, thus giving rise to a higher standard of life and culture which no university in the West was capable of doing so far.

Finally Sjt. Kumarappa criticised the growing of tobacco and cotton crops in this district (Guntur)

in place of food crops so as to export them to foreign countries and make money. '“These crops do not feed your hunger or quench your thirst and so every one of you should try to counteract it in all possible way. Gandhiji may conceive new ideas, new schemes, and start new institutions but all these will be futile without the co-operation of every one of you.”

WHAT TYPE OF ECONOMIC ORDER

SHALL WE HAVE ?

Sjt. J. C. KUMARAPPA.

Before we can decide on the form of organisation best suited to our country, we have to examine the ones that already hold the day. The two important forms are Communistic System that has been evolved in Soviet Russia and Capitalism of England and America. We shall scan rapidly the salient features of these two and then choose what we find of merit in either. While examining these systems we must consider them in relation to the environment in which they were evolved and by which they were influenced.

Capitalism is built upon the foundation of Feudalism that prevailed in mediaval Europe. It is predatory and self-centred by tradition, and as a consequence it has developed militarism side by side.

While Communism is the resultant of the autocracy of the aristocrats and exploitation of capitalists and the incidental revolt has led to violence just as in the case of capitalism. The achievements

of the Russian people are admirable. Although their methods may not appeal to us. In observing this, we do not presume to sit in judgement over the means adopted by a nation in travail to bring into existence a new order of things, especially a nation like Russia which had its cup of sorrow filled to the brim under the Tzarist regime. If they were in a hurry, it is not for us to blame. Whatever we may have to say it is said not to criticise the Russian people but merely to consider the Russian experiment from the view point of one who is out to benefit by the experience of others and who is seeking a solution for the problems that confront us in India.

We should never lose sight of the fact that what might have suited one people and their genius may not necessarily suit another. Whatever may be the situation in Russia, we have to take into consideration the conditions that prevail in our country. We are not starting with a clean slate. Our country has superstition and prejudices running in its blood. It has certain ideals and characteristics which have been handed down for generations. An Ethiopian may change his skin and a leopard its spots. But an ancient nation cannot shake off its traditions and genius overnight. We ought to be prepared to salvage

whatever is good in any system and reject what is bad. It is with this approach that we have to look both at capitalism and communism. Both have their evils and strong points. Under capitalism, profit-motive is given free play and individuals are allowed to exploit every situation to their gain, even at the cost of injuring society. The advantage of this system is every individual gets an opportunity to exercise his talents and energy as he likes. In trying to check this, the communists have gone to the other extreme of doing away altogether with the profit motive. Under their system a small idealistic group plan the work for the nation, and individuals "are not to reason why theirs but to do and die". Here initiative of the individual is suppressed. While the individualistic outlook of capitalism is bad, the social sense should not be developed into an instinct. While we do not need to become prowling animals looking to see whom we may devour, we should not become automatons or like the bees engaged in unthinking activities. We should avoid the two extremes. In the first the individulistic outlook appears in an exaggerated form. In the other, the personality of the individual is utterly crushed. While the first is based on uncontrolled selfish greed, the other is based on class hatred. ('Daily Pratap' Lahore.)

Therefore, we have to devise a system in which men may be guided to some extent by profit motive and yet will not exploit the weaker members ruthlessly. We need to develop the personality of each individual and every one should be free to exercise his talents. If we can limit the production of commodities to a small unit by decentralising it, then we shall avoid great many evils that follow in the wake of capitalism and yet preserve freedom of thought and action to the individual. In the past, we had decentralised production but not being conscious of its merits, we had run after large scale production and are in the slough of despondent present. Some feel, advocating decentralisation, is setting the clock back. Decentralised production might have been a commonplace a century ago, but that does not prove that it is without its merits, even at the present time. A century ago, under decentralised production violence was not organised on a national basis. Then battles were fought with mercenaries. At present, the producer seeks markets and recruits patriots to fight his battles. To-day by a process of centralised education children are being taught that they are born in this world to die for the king and country. ~~For this~~ they exist as mere producers. We contend that in both

under capitalism and communism, human values are not taken into account. Every individual has the personality which, when properly developed has its contribution to make to society. We have no right to look upon the common run of the human beings, as either gun fodder under capitalism or a cog-wheel in a machine under communism. (We should not reject wholly centralisation nor reject wholly private ownership; we cannot reject wholly profit motives and we cannot advocate complete decentralisation. What we want to find is a mean between capitalism and communism. Both systems have failed to bring out the best in individuals, and both have led to group violence, Capitalism to find markets and Communism to keep out the foreigner and to enforce its plan. Hence we have to have modification of these. While we do not reject profit motive, we may attempt to curb the capacity of the individual to accumulate profits and wealth. We human beings are so built that human progress can only be possible with the advance of each individual. For the advance of each individual, it is necessary, to allow certain amount of self interest. This is fully demonstrated in every day life. When a man works for a fixed salary as say in a Government post, the contribution he makes to society is generally of a

routine nature. The greatest inventions and discoveries have been the results of venture, some spirits attempting to give expression to their inner urge. (Decentralisation of production ensures the producer the product of his labour. Therefore, if group production has disadvantages the alternative is decentralised production. While it may be granted group activity has a contribution to make within a limited community, it is open to serious doubt whether, on a national scale it is possible for any length of time. A few idealists may get together and run an Ashram or other philanthropic institution on the basis of service but whether, such principles can be applied at the present state of varied civilisations on a whole world basis, may be questioned. For even Russia finds it necessary to be shut out from the outside world to carry out its communistic experiments. Foreign trade is the state monopoly. Intercourse with foreign nations is highly restricted. Thus the communistic experiment is carried on almost in a laboratory. Experiments may be carried on under controlled circumstances to find out the laws that govern the movements but it is too much to think that humanity as a whole will function in like manner under normal conditions without such controlled environment.

~~Dis~~centralised production under Capitalism directs labour from the supply of primary needs to luxuries, from food to face powder, hence it is that we find a world facing starvation and overproduction at the same time.

Centralised production whether under Capitalism or under Communism will in the long run, lead to national deterioration as there is only a limited scope for the exercise of the entrepreneur's ability. Not a little of the unbusinesslike habits of our people is due to the lack of responsibility both in business and Government. Unless one is allowed to strike out for oneself, there can be no healthy growth. We cannot have a nation of stalwarts on centralised methods. Both political and economic freedom needs decentralisation to germinate. The right place of a machine is ~~an~~ ^{as} instrument in the hands of man but when man is turned into a machine-feeder, the whole organisation is up-side-down. Man does not exist for the machine.

Under Communism, society is made a fetish of and individuals sink into insignificance. However much of comforts a person may be provided with by society, what shall it profit him if he loses his personality?

Although we have a place for centralised production, it will be only for the purposes of public utilities which would be under either collective or co-operative control. Undertakings such as telephones, telegraphs, roads, postal service, supply of water, exploitation of forests and mines will naturally come within the scope of the state. We cannot allow private exploitation in these undertakings. The objection to social ownership and management for commodity production is that under such conditions progress will be retarded. And if social control can take care of the size and capacity of the units of production, exploitation can be minimised. As long as human nature is what it is, it will be impracticable to abolish exploitation altogether. Exploitation and violence in some form or other will be there. Our eating and breathing is full of violence and exploitation. Our purpose should be to minimise these in keeping with human existence and progress. Under the conditions we propose there will be a natural limit to the capacity of an individual to produce. And this in its turn will limit maldistribution of wealth. So long as individuals differ one from another, the quantity and the quality of production of the individual will also differ. That is, the income will differ. But the range of difference will be limited,

We can think of differences in income ranging in hundreds or thousands but we cannot have incomes running into millions without involving an unhampered exploitation of thousands. Finance, trading, marketing etc., can also function in a co-operatively managed organisation and therefore there need be no fear of unlimited private wealth.

Communitistic production takes the form of military discipline in an economic sphere and too much discipline is bad for growth. Soviet Communism is also based on class hatred. Indeed, it is an outcome of class hatred. Even to-day there are distinctly marked differences in the treatment of peasants and workers. If what we hear about the violent methods undertaken to suppress the bourgeois class has any iota of truth in it, no lover of human progress can advocate such methods in any group. Because if we ^(sow) ~~now~~ gather a wind we reap a whirlwind. We cannot afford to lay our foundation stone of a new order on class hatred.

It is argued that if we are to have any form of Government, violence is essential. As I have already pointed before, certain amount of violence will always be there in any state control but what matters is the degree and the spirit behind what appears to be

violence. Even a loving father chastises his child. If there is violence in such chastisement then, there is bound, to be such violence also in a government as we conceive it. Under the form of state control which we advocate, the transition may not be sudden and spectacular but our methods will be slow and will take their own time to permeate through the nation. We have to have patience if we are aiming at permanence. While disestablishing private property by a stroke of the pen by legislation may be violent, gradual curtailment of private ownership by limiting the productive capacity under state control will not necessarily spell violence. In our own country in the past as well in the present, great many functions are under social control. And society decides on the merits and demerits of certain cases. Though there may be abuses in this system, it indicates possibility of subjecting our people to a group discipline by social control.

Indian tradition has been one of decentralisation even in the political sphere. If we attempt to superimpose a foreign structure on the ancient foundation, the result will come down like a pack of cards. A plant that flourishes in Russia under hothouse conditions may not thrive if ~~supplanted~~ in this country.

While Gandhiji's aim is a humble one of increasing the productivity of the villager and giving him a healthier habitation it touches the main spring of civilisation and introduces a fundamental principle of social organisation transcending even communism. A programme that seeks to restore the villager to health, strength and self-respect possesses a fundamental principle of social organisation essentially, because of this very "humble aim". If it succeeds in restoring to the villager his self-respect and dignity directing production from face powder to food articles, may it not transcend even Communism? The possibilities are there.

The A.I.V.I.A. only represents under this scheme a part of the layout—the part relating to commodity production. ('Daily Pratap' Lahore) Nov. 1935.

THE LAND OF VILLAGES,

SJ.T. J. C. KUMARAPPA.

It is often said 'India is a land of villages'. There is more in this statement than what appears on the surface. Sociologists tell us that society itself is an organism, i.e. an entity with manifold activities having a separate existence. A village is such an entity and India is a conglomeration of such live units. If India is to be alive then the units composing it have also to be full of life. What infuses life into that which appears a nondescript collection of insanitary huts distributed along old cowpaths and makes it a homogeneous whole? To answer this, one has to analyse the village itself into its component parts and examine the constituent elements of such units.

Each village is made up of a number of families and these in their turn can be split into individual human beings. So, ultimately we are led to a study of a man, a woman or a child. Every person has many phases to his life and the one who has the many sides well developed, functions normally; if any part is undernourished it leads to pathological con-

ditions. The main lines of interest of a person can be divided into four parts — Physical, Economic, Spiritual and Social.

PHYSICAL.

For the physical development, the human form requires to be launched under ideal conditions and nourished by food that repairs wastage, that supplies materials for building up energy for maintaining activity and resistance to disease. When we pass through villages what do we find? Children brought into this world by boys and girls who have hardly attained full stature physically and mentally. Can we expect a healthy progeny from these immature parents who are in their turn still economically dependent upon the grand parents?

Besides this handicap of heredity, the nourishment with which the child will be brought upon is invariably defective. The economically dependent position of the parent makes it impossible for them to provide nutritious food, even if such were available. With the advent of speedy communications milk, fruits, vegetables etc., are drawn away into cities by the attractive prices and the villages are starved of these health giving natural foods and they turn to the

substitutes such as Tea, Pickles etc., which satisfy the palate but undernourish the body. Under these conditions can we expect specimens of humanity sturdy in body, mind and soul?

According to a survey of over 1200 families in Martar Taluk, more than 70% of farmers' expenditure is incurred in providing the meagre food and clothing, leaving hardly anything for cultural requirements. Even this is much below subsistence level. For normal healthy and wholesome food alone a farmer in Gujarat requires about Rs. 100 per head per annum while the annual income is about Rs. 14 per head. Can the reader imagine the little or nothing on which a villager has to eke out a living.

ECONOMIC.

If we look at the map of any prosperous country we shall find all economically important cities as the foci of many radiating lines of communications. Prosperity is the resultant of the co-ordination of the efforts of many. No village can be prosperous unless it has many converging lines of activity. Prosperity does not run on a single track. At present, most of our villages have become dependent purely

on agriculture and the old artisan families have lost their cunning. Will Laxmi smile on such villages? Just as one cannot get all one's bodily needs from a diet which consists of rice and rice only, we need a variegated unity of occupations to infuse economic health and independence. Unfortunately, even in agriculture, our farmers have run after the butterflies of money crops and are fast abandoning the sustaining food crops to the detriment of themselves and their children.

There is a crying need for the resuscitation of dead and dying industries and for the introduction of new ones to provide a variety of occupations if we would have our villages as live units.

In many parts there is ~~under~~employment for over three months in the year and under employment for over two months. This demands subsidiary industries to fill in idle moments of farmers whose occupation is, by the very nature of things, seasonal in India. This enforced idleness has to be converted into well employed leisure for cultural purposes or turned into economically productive hours. Unless this is done it will lead, and it has already led, to deterioration in character and to the quick sand of laziness which will ruin our villages for all time.

Our villages should give up producing for distant markets over which we have no control and concentrate on supplying their own needs and that of their near neighbours. Our villager is ill equipped to enter the heavy sea of international market and in the past, whenever he has attempted such a venture he has invariably come out worst. Speculation has its legitimate place in commerce and marketing but it is not for the penniless and the destitute. Let us beware of launching beyond our depths.

SPIRITUAL.

In this sphere we shall confine ourselves to an examination of the development of character and personality in so far as such development is aided by economic activity. We have already alluded to the effect enforced idleness has on the villager. Every act of ours affects us for good or evil. There is no such thing as 'marking time' in character building. Each decision we take is brick in the structure of our personality. It is either 'well and truly laid' or it is left to bring down the edifice at the first shake. Every upward struggle to express ourselves has muscle building qualities. In so far as our crafts and industries have decayed the struggle

has been given up, no decisions have been taken or even called for. Villages have been flabbily floating down stream and have been carried with the current. This is rapidly destroying the moral strength of the country. We have almost lost the power to resist evil and we lack the vitality which spells progress and prosperity.

'Self Reverence, Self Knowledge, Self Control,

These three alone lead life to Sovereign power.'

If we dream of a nation selfrespecting, enlightened, robust and independent we have to educate our people, not in the three "R"'s only, but what is more important, to utilise their time and talents in healthy pursuits and banish idleness for ever.

SOCIAL.

Man is a gregarious animal but in his degradation he has lost his social sense. In our country, where we find superstitions and traditions have yielded place to knowledge and clear thinking, the villagers are quickly losing their sense of unity. Unhealthy individualism is spreading and is driving away the community spirit. We see writ large all over the world today "every man for himself and Devil take the hindermost" Our land has not proved proof

against this malignant spirit that pervades this globe. We have forgotten the dignity of labour and have substituted it with the idea of high and low callings resulting in a devastating line of demarcation between brother and brother. We tried to steer clear of economic and social distinctions based on financial status but we have fallen into a blind well of castes and subcastes tapering into untouchability and unapproachability. This, in its turn, led us into inhygienic and insanitary conditions. This state of affairs has affected the health of the villagers and we do not expect a sound mind in a wrecked body. Our people still retain traces of personal cleanliness but have lost all feelings of communal care. Our actions have been compared to ever widening ripples that reaches everybody and everybody else's action affects us. Unless we realise this and fashion our lives accordingly we shall not succeed in rebuilding our nation.

Let us, therefore, take up the spade and shovel and clear the land of all filth and dirt, both literally and figuratively. with a grim determination never to cease until we have achieved our goal.

To help to carry out the above objective in an organised fashion, the All India Village Industries

Association was formed last December with its headquarters at Wardha. The Association does not seek to be a producing centre but it aims at helping villagers to their feet by dissemination of information organising marketing facilities, and offering technical advice. It invites co-operation from all, irrespective of colour, castes, creeds, status or political opinion.

('The social order ' Nov. 1935)

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AHIMSA IN THE ECONOMIC WORLD.

SJ C. J. C. KUMARAPPA.

When two material things are rubbed together friction comes into play and generates heat. Similarly divergent interests have to clash in order to produce Himsa. Conversely, if conflict of rival interests could be avoided we shall have non-violence in the passive sense. That is Ahimsa which is brought about by the absence of circumstances which, if present, will result in Himsa. There is no credit claimed here for any virtue. It is just the natural result of the non-existence of certain causes. Even where there is friction, if heat is not generated by the exercise of higher qualities in man, we have Ahimsa in the active sense. Here circumstances are such as to produce violence but, by self-control and conquest over the natural order, Ahimsa is maintained; but for such superior power Himsa would have been generated. In the humdrum of every day economic life it would be too much to expect the last form and it is passive non-violence that we shall have in mind in dealing with Ahimsa in the Economic World.

It does not require any high degree of perception to recognise the fact that to-day the economic atmosphere the world over is surcharged with violence. Nations are gnashing their teeth and snarling at each other under the cloak of armed neutrality in enjoying "peace". There is hidden hatred and enmity in every hand stretched out in "brotherhood". All talk of championing weak nations is motivated by selfishness, greed and avarice. Professions of a desire to civilise backward nations and to bring light and learning to those who sit in darkness are the excrescence of Imperialism. In short, we see wolves stalking the land as lambs. Our enquiry is to consider how these rivalries are caused and how they can be averted. This will show us the directions of economic activity and reason for violence and thus enable us to tackle the problem.

When we go below the human family to the birds and beasts, we notice that movements of those dumb creatures are conditioned by search for food, and hunger is the urge behind their labours. They reap where they sowed not; they consume without producing. Their ferocity is increased in the same ratio as the scarcity of food. Or, in economic language, if such could be used, the intensity of the

demand causes violence as supply is limited and competition for that which is available is sharpened.

The position is not very different when we come to man in the nomadic stage. He, like the animal, is not able to increase supply to meet the demand but moves about from scarcity to plenty, and any one who stands in his way falls a prey to his wrath. His production, if any, is very limited and his consumption is predatory, nature being generally the victim. The directive force which fashions his movements could again be said to be hunger in a larger sense i.e. his very elementary and savage needs. He also finds his demands are not always met by nature and when this is so, there is competition and violence.

From this we pass on to the Agriculturist who, for the first time, tries to equate supply with demand by aiding nature i.e. by his production. Thus he is able to control supply. He is able to meet even his greater needs in the shape of food, clothing and shelter. He produces what he needs and consumes to his satisfaction. In this stage, as the diversity between demand and supply is not great, competition is curbed. There is no unwholesome pressure to increase consumption artificially and hence,

the generation of violence is lessened. Under this state supply follows demand and the production is to order i.e. definitely directed towards satisfying an existing need. We may call it a "~~be~~ spoken economic order". A man needs a shoe and it is made to fit his particular feet and their shape. Only in this case can the demand be fully satiated. The ability or the ingenuity of the producer expands with the exacting nature of the demand and leads to development of the skill and personality of the producer contributes to the cultures of the age. As long as the producer rises equal to the demand and satisfies it there is no room for violence. Every one eats of his vine, and of his fig tree and drinks the waters of his cistern and there is peace in the land. The idea of Private Property in land and cattle develops side by side with leisure and culture.

Leaving this idyllic picture we come on now to the giddy life of the machine age. The nomad's dependence on nature is forgotten. The agriculturist's attempt to supplant nature is carried to the extreme and man celebrates his 'conquest' over nature. Nature's forces are harnessed to serve man. Various devices to aid man in his activities have been invented but

here again he has over reached himself and the machine that was intended to be a servant, finds itself the master, thus reducing the bulk of mankind to subject slavery by its needs. Supply has made larger strides than demand. In the earlier stages the struggle was to increase the supply, now overproduction loudly calls for an increase in demand. Machinery spells standardisation and large scale production. Even then this does not meet the demand correctly. A man wants a pair of shoes in Bombay. He goes into a shop and he is presented with large numbers of footwear made in Northampton by a shoemaker who had never set eyes on the customer. The shoe manufacturer makes standard sizes and without trouble he easily multiplies the numbers. He does not stop to wait for orders. Like Pat-a-cake the Bakers man, he makes them as fast as he can and ships them to various -parts of the world for sale. The supply comes into existence without knowing the demand and then it seeks out the demand. Again, in an industry like the steel industry powerful vested interests influence the Government to find outlets for their products. The Government seeks out "backward" peoples and build railways and bridges for them while the children of these "backward" peoples are starving physically and

mentally. All these standardised products can be turned out in large quantities without much extra cost and so markets have to be found for these supplies. This state of things naturally leads to violence. Still worse is the case of the manufacturer of armaments, who is obviously interested in nurturing belligerent conditions which make for boom period in his business. Violence is the very essence of his success. In the past, directive forces which stimulated economic activity were natural hunger of the savage and the nomad and the discomforts of the sensitive body of the agriculturist. These were nature's urge or goad. But now we have artificially to increase demand by habits cultivated by imitation or custom, so that the excess of production may be absorbed. Food, clothing and shelter were nature's demand, but tobacco, lipstick, rouge and face powder are examples of demand cultivated by imitation and custom. In many cases even if the consumer is indifferent, the producer, by modern methods of advertisement and other means of propaganda, persuades the public to use that which has no utility and makes business for himself and sells his goods.

Thus we notice that the forces that directed economic activity have shifted from making good

shortage of supply to meeting shortage of demand or, in other words, over-production.

This last situation has created a complexity of circumstances. To dispose of the excess production markets have to be found. Competition has assumed a keenness never before known. To increase the consumers i.e. the demand, it was necessary to complicate the lives of simple folks—"Civilize" them. The eagerness to capture markets and "civilize" backward peoples has led to jealousies between industrialised nations and resistance among the victims and in both cases it has led to armaments and violence on a scale in keeping with large scale production, the root of the trouble. In this turmoil there can be no room for real culture as all energies are concentrated in either feeding violence or in combating it.

A study of history teaches us that, when a people's demand is too difficult of satisfaction, their culture and civilisation dies. This situation may arise either by their inability to produce as in the case of the Red Indians of America, or in the degeneration of the race, as is seen in the down fall of every great empire. In the

latter case, supply is increased by booty, loot and the exploitation of captured races as slaves, actually or constructively. To consume such predatory wealth the standards of life are artificially increased. Consumption takes place without production. Before long such a civilisation will collapse as it has no back-bone. Predatory consumption is not conducive to growth but undermines the stamina of the people. A nation can flourish only as long as its demand can be met by its productivity. When there is not much disparity between demand and supply the nation advances culturally. India, China and Egypt have to look back to their days of agricultural civilization for the heyday of their cultures. In the West, the Industrial age produced a transitory culture during the midvictorian era, but it was not long before the supply went far ahead of the demand and steeped the world in that barbarism and despair wherein we find ourselves to-day. Indeed, we can boast of knowledge and the advance of Science but that is not true culture. The pressure of life to-day is not conducive thereto. There is no true leisure. We have to equate our supply and demand but not artificially. Until we are able to do this, violence will stalk the land. At present we are in a state of unstable equilibrium

and our "civilization", such as it is, will topple over any moment.

What then are the correctives we have to apply? We must inevitably check the artificial creation of demand. This cuts at the root of all imperialism. People have to evolve their own culture after their own fashion without any attempt on the part of the outsider to "bring civilization to backward peoples". Avarice, as a motive for production, has to be curbed and the extent of each person's economic activity has to be limited to his capacity, so that the weaker members are not exploited under capitalism, profit motive is allowed free play, without regard to any other consideration. Goods are produced for immediate gain and in a manner which gleans the profits into a few pockets only. This leads to a shortage of necessities, over production of luxuries and maldistribution of wealth, while the masses are reduced to undernourished machine feeders. This state of affairs has generated class consciousness resulting in the conflict of Capital and Labour. On the other hand, Soviet Communism has given up the profit motive but has intensified class hatred. The workers have little initiative which is a prerequisite for the formation of any culture. We should

not aim at producing a Rabot by a man with all his inconsistencies and incongruities. Material advancement is nothing when it is obtained at the cost of the individuals' personality.

In both capitalism and communism we find room and the need for violence and a great concentration of power in few hands. Because of these failures in an attempt to establish healthy equilibrium between supply and demand, we are led to advocate individual units of production rather than collective units. This adjustment in itself will reduce the excess of supplies. The markets should be localised and only the surplus, after satisfying local needs, ought to find distant markets.

The present economic system is like the old time steamers which could be sunk by springing one hole in the hull but the modern methods of having water-tight compartments saves the whole ship even if a part were damaged. Similarly when over production and the market are not centralised the dangers of the system, as a whole, coming to grief are few. In such a decentralised system the danger of violence is minimised.

It is this purpose that is the background against which the All India Village Industries Association

was started under a resolution passed at the last Congress.⁶⁴ By encouraging decentralisation of production, we hope to reduce the maldistribution of wealth develop the personality of the villagers and release their inborn talents for the good of humanity. If we succeed in this, jealousy, cut throat competition and voracious search for markets will cease, thus taking away the basis for violence amongst nations, and ushering in peace and goodwill among men.

(Bombay Chronicle December 1935.)

Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry.

